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FOUR
LETTERS
TO A
FRIEND
IN
NORTH BRITAIN.

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FOUR
LETTERS
TO A
FRIEND
IN
NORTH BRITAIN,

Upon the Publishing
The Tryal of Dr. Sacheverell.

*This is not a Controversy of Reason against Reason, but of downright
Impudence against all the Sense and Reason of Mankind.*

Archbishop Tillotson.

*Protect us mighty Providence,
What wou'd these Madmen have?
First they wou'd bribe us without Pence,
Deceive us without common Sense,
And without Power enslave.*

Earl of Dorset.

L O N D O N,
Printed in the Year M.DCC.X.

AC94.1710.1035

LETTERS,

&c.

I Hope, Sir, you have receiv'd the Printed Tryal, which I had the Honour to send you last Week: And because in that you will only see the Arguments on both sides, and the Grounds of the Impeachment, as they are set forth in the Articles, without having a distinct View of many Circumstances, and other Particulars, which have immediate relation to that Affair; I beg leave upon this occasion to answer at large the several Letters and Enquiries I have receiv'd from you concerning it: and I will reduce all I have to say to these four Heads. First, I will take notice of some Particulars before the Tryal. Next, I will explain some Things that happen'd at the time of it. In the third place, I will consider what was done immediately after it. And lastly, I will give you my poor Opinion concerning the Consequences of this whole Matter.

First, As to what happen'd before the Tryal begun: The Commons themselves have given some very good Reasons, besides those express'd in their Articles, for their undertaking that Affair, and for

bringing this Preacher and his Doctrines into question; for in their Address to her Majesty, they declare, *That they cou'd not patiently sit still and see the Justice of the late Happy Revolution reflected upon, her Majesty's Undoubted Title, and Gracious Administration endeavour'd to be render'd odious to the People, the present Establishment and Protestant Succession undermin'd, the Resolutions of Parliament treated with Contempt, the Governours of the Church, and her Majesty as Supreme, vilify'd and aspers'd, the Toleration expos'd as Wicked, and Sedition insolently invading the Pulpit.*

That the Sermons and other Books of this Doctor were exactly made to answer all these Purposes, will most evidently appear upon the reading of his Tryal: And if after this it shall seem strange to you, that so many Men of high Birth and Quality should have endeavour'd to acquit him, the best Account I can give of it, in few words, is this; That it was Party-Work, and must be gone thro, as difficult as it was. But if it shall seem stranger to you still, as without dispute it

A

must,

must, that at a time when her Majesty's Throne is so firmly and legally settled, when the Toleration has had such wonderful Effects in reconciling the Dissenters, when the Church is in so safe and flourishing a Condition, and the Administration is so just at home, and so glorious abroad; there should yet have appear'd so much Ill-Humour, Malice and Sedition in this Preacher, too many of his Brethren, his Patrons, and his Allies: It will require more time to give you a particular account of this Mischief, and of the Springs and Rise of it; which I will endeavour now to do with as much plainness as I can: and I will lay before you some Particulars, which perhaps are not so well known at the distance where you live, as they are to us in this part of the Country.

In order to set this Matter in a true light, it will be necessary to look back as far as to the Beginning of her Majesty's Reign: and then you will remember that those who are call'd the High Churchmen were prefer'd to most of the Employments in the Government. But they were no sooner in Power, than the Spirit of Persecution, which is inseparable from them and their Principles, began to shew it self; and tho they made the first Attack upon the Consciences of their Fellow-Subjects with a plausible Bill against Occasional Conformity, yet their ill Design in this Attempt was so manifest, that it pass'd upon none but such as were willing to be deceiv'd. What Heats and Debates were rais'd in both Houses upon this occasion, and what Distress the Government was brought into, is needless to mention now, since it must needs be fresh in your Memory: But this gave the first Blow to the Favour and Interest of that Party in the present Court. It was impossible that a Monarchy establish'd for the Good of the Subject, should be long serv'd by such Men as plainly intended the Ruin, and Persecution of great numbers of the People. Hence it proceeded, that many of these Officers were remov'd from their Employments; or ra-

ther, they turn'd themselves out, by acting in direct opposition to all the wise Ends of this mild and equal Government: And hence it proceeded, that Men of better Tempers and Principles were brought into their Places, who were soon afterwards distinguish'd by the Title of Men of Moderation; which I believe was the first time that any senseless Turns or Reflections had been made upon that Word, since there were Divines or Philosophers in the world.

But these moderate Councils and prudent Measures were no sooner taken, than immediately there was a dreadful Cry about the Kingdom of the Danger of the Church: And this produc'd one of the most impudent Books that was ever printed in any Age or Nation; I mean the *Memorial of the Church of England*, setting forth its Danger at a time when it was in the utmost Safety. And the Grounds of that Danger may be seen in this remarkable Passage in the 55th Page: *We take the laying aside such sleddy Champions of the Church, as the D---ke of B---m, the E---s of R---r and N---m, &c. to be manifest Indications of the Church's Danger.* The meaning of which is, if those Letters were chang'd into Words, That when one Man who once turn'd Papist, another who sat in the High-Commission Court, and a third whom you may read an Account of in the Earl of Torrington's Speech printed last Winter, were not Ministers of State, the Church must needs be in great Peril. One could hardly have thought the displacing of such Men would have been us'd for an Argument to shew the Church's Danger: Yet so it was, and who could help it? It was in vain to say, That this Church was protect'd by a Supreme Head zealous for the Interest, and liberal to the Support of it; That this Church was guarded by the Laws of the Land; That it was defended by many Excellent and Learned Prelates; That it had all the Members of the Upper House of Parliament true to its Establishment (except one that was loud-mouth'd in the Cry about its Danger;)

Danger;) That it had so far the greater Number in the House of Commons, as makes it needless to mention the few Dissenters there: And that it had all the Officers Civil and Military of any Character or Consideration of its own Communion. What did all this signify, when the D. of B. the E. of R. and the E. of N. were turn'd out of the Ministry? The poor Church must certainly be in Danger, when these Champions were not paid or hir'd to defend it. And to make this Farce the more compleat, the D. of B. was put at the head of these Champions of the Church.

But as these Champions began to give ground, and to be beaten in both Houses, where a Declaration was pass'd, and approv'd by the Queen, That those who rais'd such Clamours were the greatest Enemies to the Church and Nation; they naturally turn'd their Thoughts towards a second Restoration, and resolv'd to make a bold Push for another Government, since their Cause was grown desperate in this. But now what should our brisk Champions do to compass their Designs? To declare openly for the Pretender, would have been too rash a Step at first, and would have brought their able Heads into worse Perils than are consistent with their Profession of nothing but Church-Chivalry. Nor was it advisable to speak directly and plainly against the Revolution and the Protestant Succession: Therefore they bethought themselves of a safer Method, to attack the two last mention'd, by condemning all Resistance, and crying up Hereditary Right; and to carry on the Work of the Pretender, by ordering their inferior Clergy particularly to cultivate the Doctrine of Non-Resistance; since none, even of their own dull Hearers, could miss finding out the Secret, or want light to discover, that condemning such Resistance as dethron'd the Father could have no other meaning but Restitution to the Son. De-

sides, to do the Doctor right, he spoke it plainly out in his *First-Sermon*: for there he says, page 14. *Where the Publick Right is violated, publick Restitution is to be requir'd; which if deny'd, leaves it in the power of the injured to seek Justice in the Destruction of their Enemies, and to wash away the Stain of the Affront in the Blood of their Enemies: when neither the Law of Nature or Civil Equity can bring a People to a true Sense of their Duty, and a Discharge of Justice, these are the last compulsive Means to extort Right out of their Power.* Well said, Doctor! I cannot help commending him for speaking so bravely, and like a Man: And if you are displeas'd with him for it, pray consider that he was only discharging his Conscience, and bringing his Audience to a true Sense of their Duty: And be pleas'd to read a certain Paragraph in his Speech, and apply it to this Passage; for there he says, *Whatever Expressions in his Sermons may have slipt from him which are liable to Exception, he humbly hopes the above-mention'd Provocations may plead his Excuse.* Therefore if you take exception at his declaring so publicly for Restitution, I beseech you to remember the Provocation he had to it, that I have just above mention'd; which was, that in his opinion the *Publick Right is violated*: And if the Doctor, after that, requir'd Publick Restitution, I hope you will think the Provocation given him was sufficient to plead his Excuse for so doing.

But the Party had divers good Authorities for what they did at this time, in reviving the Doctrine of Non-resistance. For it was this very Doctrine upon which all the Plots and Assassinations were founded, that had been carry'd on since the Revolution: And it was this Doctrine, that all the unhappy Men, who were executed for those Crimes, own'd and avow'd in Justification of their Treason. And upon these Principles *Smatt* and *Collier* gave Absolution to *Charneck* at the Place of Execution. It was this Doctrine that the

Bishops, and others who refus'd the Oaths to King *William*, immediately publish'd and recommended to the World, in a Book call'd *The History of Passive Obedience*, which was approv'd and licens'd at a General Meeting held at *Lambeth* for that purpose. And in short, it was this Doctrine that those more dangerous Persons own'd, who oppos'd the Abdication, and Settlement of the Crown; and afterwards swore Allegiance to our late Sovereign, as King *de facto*, or possess'd of the Legal Right, while another enjoy'd the Birth-Right, or Divine Right. These are the Men who have since that time us'd all their Endeavours to distress the Government in Parliament: and who by their faithful Services in both Houses, when they had taken the Oaths with the Distinctions above-mention'd, have preserv'd themselves ever since from the Reproaches of their Friends, those honestest Men who refus'd them.

Non-Resistance therefore was the Word: And the two Universities, especially that of *Oxford*, which had appear'd for the Revolution in defiance of their famous Decree, now undertook again the Propagation of this Doctrine, upon the Removal of their Champions from Court. And when the Poison had been artfully dispers'd into most of the Congregations of this Kingdom, and the young Nobility and Gentry had been train'd up by such Tutors as *Sacheverell*, in an Aversion to our Constitution: And, above all, when your poor Countryman *Gregg*, who us'd to sit quiet and snug in his Office, hard at work when all the Town was asleep, had given due Notice of the proper Season, then was set on foot the famous Expedition of the Pretender for your Country. But upon the Miscarriage of that Attempt; and when some more very necessary Changes had been made in the Ministry; and the *French Army* had been beaten once again, which was about the Eighth or Ninth time; and the dreadful News came over, that

their King would make a Peace, then you may be sure it was high time for this poor Church to be at the brink of Ruin; then new Instructions were given to the Pretender's Clergy to get into as many Pulpits as they could, and not only to display their old Topicks of Non-Resistance, Hereditary Right, and the Church's Danger, but to bellow against the Toleration, and the whole Administration in general. Loaded with such Sermons as these, our Pulpit-Heralds march'd from one Place to another, proclaiming War against the Constitution, enflaming the Nation, and filling the Minds of the People with Jealousies and Sedition, and with a dislike of the Proceedings of Parliament, and an Abhorrence of our present Settlement: Then was the time that *Sacheverell* invaded *St. Paul's*, warn'd the wealthy Citizens not to trust this Government, which was falling into destruction: And in order to stop the Peace abroad, he commanded all his Friends at home to gird their Loins with a flaming Sword, and to hang out the bloody Flag and Banner of defiance. And will any Body say, That such a Preacher as this should have been suffer'd to go on unpunish'd? Permit me Sir, to give you some Touches of his Eloquence, and then you will please to make your own Conclusion. But not to oppress you with too many Quotations, I will pick out only a few, that were pointed more particularly at Her Majesty, and her Administration, and could tend to nothing else but the raising Rebellion in her Kingdom. And first by asserting the utter Illegality of Resistance, and that the contrary Position is damnable, it is obvious, what a dreadful Sentence he pronounc'd against the Queen, who was her self in actual Resistance at the time of the Revolution. But this was but half his Courtesy; For in his *Derby Sermon* he did set forth, *That authorizing Schism makes those who authorize it, basely abusing their Power, and prostituting the Vicegerency of God to execrable Purposes,*

poses, accountable for the Crimes of their Inferiours, in which they are Partakers, and therefore liable to a double Damnation. It is no more necessary to shew, that in all his Books he calls Presbytery Schism, than it is to inform you that the same Schism is made perpetual in your Country by the Act of Union: And therefore 'tis as needless to prove, who it is that the Doctor thought would bear this double Load of Guilt, for having prostituted the Vicegerency of God to execrable Purposes. But indeed he had no Mercy upon the Queen, for not content with what I have already quoted, he charg'd her Majesty in his Derby Sermon with the Faults of her whole Ministry: For, said he, *We find in Scripture many Instances of very flagrant Sins committed by some Ministers of State, ascrib'd only to the Supreme Power under whose Commission they acted.* And it appears by all his Discourses, that he thinks the Queen is in a Plot against the Church, since he promises to maintain the Toleration inviolably, and recommends Moderation from the Throne. And if you compare his Description of a true Mother of the Church with Her Majesty's Conduct in the whole Course of her Reign, you will be astonish'd to find how unnatural a Parent she is. In short, it was plain from his whole Charge against the Government, that his Aim and Design was to destroy it: for when he had represented this unhappy Church in a most languishing Condition, bleeding of the Wounds she had receiv'd in the House of her Friends; and when he had set forth in most lofty Terms, That her Adversaries were chief, and her Enemies at present proper: Then he comforts himself with this Reflection, that *tho the Ways of Sion may mourn for a time, and her Gates be desolate, her Priests sigh, and she in bitterness; tho among all her Lovers she has few to comfort her, and many of her Friends have dealt treacherously with her, and are become her Enemies; yet some were still among us, who had Courage to speak Truth, as well as Lives and Fortunes to maintain*

it: Adding, that God and Nature had invested every Subject from his Cradle, with a Commission to engage the Enemies of his Church. Therefore all those that believ'd his Doctrine were bound in Conscience to rise in Arms for a Holy War. Wo, said the Doctor, *to the fearful Heart and faint Hand;* and to all those that should sit still, and for want of Courage give up their Cause, which, he said, at present requir'd their bravest Resolution, for that they were to wrestle against Principalities and Powers, and the Rulers of the Darkness of this World, against Spiritual Wickedness in High-places.

And now, Sir, when I have repeated what was so very well observ'd in the incomparable Argument of my Lord Chief Justice, That many of those Expressions are taken out of the Lamentations, which was a Book written when the Jews were under the Dominion of one that had no Title, and their true King was in a foreign Country, I beg you to determine what the Doctor in his Speech leaves to be judg'd by the whole World; which is, *how true a Zeal and Affection he has always born to her Majesty's Person and Government.* And is he not a very modest Person who uses these words in the same Speech? *I hope I may with all Humility apply to my own Case the Words of that blessed Apostle, whose Doctrine I defend, and whose Example I hope I shall have the Grace to follow; Neither against the Law, nor against the Temple, nor against Cesar have I offended any thing at all.* If this was not offending against her Majesty, the Law, and the Church, there never was an Offender of any kind in the World; yet such was the wholesom Doctrine of this faithful Subject to the Queen. And pray let me know, in your next Letter, if you do not think this was preaching her Majesty out of the Government; or which is the same thing, preaching the Pretender into it: And if it was not high time to put a stop to such preaching, especially since her Majesty approv'd the whole Proceeding, and told the Parliament, in her last most gracious

sious Speech, That they had *a necessary* occasion of taking up their time, in impeaching that bold Offender.

Having thus, Sir, written what I think sufficient to explain the first Par-

ticular I mention'd to you, I will reserve the second for another Letter.

June 15. 1710.

I am, &c.

The Second LETTER.

I Come now, Sir, in the next place, to acquaint you with some of the most remarkable things that happen'd during the time of this Trial: And if by what has been already said you are convinc'd that there was good reason to begin it, you will be abundantly confirm'd in that Opinion, when you have observ'd what pass'd in the Course and Progress of it. For now you will see plainly the Effects of this Doctor's Preaching, and be let into the true Secret of his meaning in the Doctrine of Non-Resistance. And here again I shall be oblig'd to acquaint you with some Particulars, that are so well known here as not to deserve mentioning, but may not yet have been so truly reported in Places more remote.

The Articles of the Commons were no sooner drawn, but a most impudent Reply was made to them, and publish'd abroad, in defiance of the Legislature, and before the Doctor had been brought to answer them at the Bar of the House of Lords. And when he was carry'd thither, under an Impeachment of the Commons of *Great Britain*, for high Crimes and Misdemeanors, he had the unparallel'd Presumption to pass thro the Streets in State, like an Ambassador making his Entry, rather than like a Criminal conducted to his Trial. What Shouts and Huzzas were made all round about him by the Servants, Hirelings and Dependants of the Party! What Indignities and Affronts were offer'd to Men of the first Quality, to Bishops, to the Managers, and to other Members of both Houses! What Execrations were utter'd against all that would not declare for the High Church

and *Sacheverell*! And what Blows were distributed among such stiff-neck'd Persons, as refus'd pulling off their Hats to this senseless Idol! Yet the Doctor, good and pious Soul, professes in his Speech to *abhor all such Disorders*: If his Solicitor, and other Friends that attended him, threw Money among the Rabble to increase the Tumult, how could he, poor Man, help it? Tho he march'd in Parade to his Tryal, seated in a Chariot with large Glasses, to be view'd and ador'd by the Multitude, he solemnly assures their Lordships, that *he avoided even appearing in Publick*. And tho the same Procession lasted, till the Trainbands dispers'd his Retinue, and reduc'd him from a Chariot to a Chair, yet he *protests in the Presence of God, that it was without any fault of his, or the least degree of Encouragement given by him*. Bless me, what a Creature is this High-Churchman! yet wonder not my Friend at that Protestation: you will presently have much more reason to be surpris'd.

But notwithstanding the Dangers that were threaten'd by this intrag'd Rabble, the Managers went on boldly with their Impeachment, and justify'd every Article of it, as you will plainly see by their several Arguments; therefore I will say nothing to this: But I cannot help observing, on the other side, that when the Doctor's Council came to make his Defence, tho very great Praises were bestow'd upon one of them, he most basely betray'd his Cause: For this great Advocate for Non-Resistance, pitch'd upon by all the faithful to maintain that Doctrine, did plainly and fully yield, that in Cases of extreme Necessity

city Resistance is lawful, and that such was the Case of the Revolution. This you will say was such a false step at setting out, as ought not to have been easily forgiven him, if his other Merits, and the Truth of his Principles were not known, and if he had not immediately made ample Satisfaction for that slip; when after having own'd, that in some Cases Self-Defence is lawful, he hasten'd to produce his Proofs of all kinds, to shew that it is utterly unlawful; and the Collections upon this Argument were with unheard of Insolence printed and dispers'd, even as soon as produc'd; To asperse the Proceedings of the Commons, and to inflame the People, by pretending to shew that this faithful Son of the Church was impeach'd for nothing else but for maintaining the Doctrines of it. But upon Examination of these Collections, they were found in most Places quite different from the Passages read out of the Books themselves; he having printed only just as much as serv'd his purpose: So that what was read at the Tryal (and since printed) is in a great measure as much against him, as his own Collections appear for him. And here I must observe, that all the Authorities that were now produc'd upon this Point, in vindication of the Doctor, were only transcrib'd from the Book I mention'd before, call'd, *The History of Passive-Obedience*, which, at the time it was written, was every where profess'd to be in direct opposition to the Revolution, but now is not to be understood to have any such meaning.

These admirable Collections to prove the Church's Doctrine, were attended by another Set to shew its Danger. And how does this appear? why truly from the Writings of those celebrated Authors, *Hickeringil, Agil, Gibbon, Toland, and Tutchin*; Books either never read at all, or read with Detestation, and at that time quite forgotten: And Authors (shall I call them? no, rather Wretches)

all either censur'd and punish'd, or acquitted by the fault of a certain Attorney-General. But on the ravings of two or three such Fellows as these, the Doctor forms his Character of the present Age, and his Description of the Manners of modern Britains; whose Sins, he says, *are ripen'd to a full maturity, to call down Vengeance from Providence on a Church, and Kingdom, debauch'd in its Principles, and corrupted in its Manners; and instead of Faith, Discipline and Worship, given over to all Licentiousness both in Opinion and Practice, to all Sensuality, Hypocrisy, Leudness, and Atheism.* Was there ever such an account given of any People since the days of Sodom? And shou'd one not expect, after reading it, an immediate Destruction, greater if possible than what fell upon that Place? Is not all this a Reflection upon the Queen herself, and a plain Intimation that her Majesty is wanting in her Duty? Would any body think that this Church is justly esteem'd to be the Glory of the Reformation, and the Chief of the Protestant-Interest in *Christendom*? And that this Nation is well known and try'd to be the Head of our great Confederacy, and the best Support of the Liberties of *Europe*? Yet such is the Report made of both these by this comfortable Preacher: And his Thoughts of our Morals were immediately printed, for the Information of our Allies abroad; as his Collection of Blasphemies was reviv'd, for the more particular Edification of his own Fellow Subjects at home.

But the Prisoner's Council were guilty of another imprudent Step in their management; when among all the Books they cited, to shew the Danger of the Church, there was not a word said of a certain *Epistolary Discourse*, proving from the *Scriptures and the first Fathers*, that the *Soul is naturally mortal*, written by a very learned Man, call'd Mr. Dodwell, of great Fame in the Republick of Letters. Not a word of the Canonical Writings of *Lejly*, in which the whole Cler-

gy are virulently aspers'd, open Advan-
ces are made towards Popery, and
Schemes are laid for uniting the Churches of *France* and *Great Britain*. Not a word of the abominable Works of Dr. *Hicks*, so fruitful of Contradictions, Blasphemy and Treason; as is plainly shewn in his *Thirty Nine Articles*, printed lately with a *New Catechism*. Not a word of the famous Application of the Lower House of Convocation in 1707. which was the boldest Remonstrance against the Queen's Ecclesiastical Prerogatives that was ever seen or heard of. All these admirable Discourses were quite forgotten, in the Collection of dangerous Writings against the Queen and the Church; because the Author of the last, to shew that he understands the Doctrine of Non-Resistance, has always encourag'd the Clergy to rebel against their Bishops, and to separate themselves from their Supreme Head; and the three Authors nam'd before are all Nonjurors: And how should Men that never took the Oaths write any thing to the prejudice of this Doctor and his Church?

Yet notwithstanding this Blunder in making their Collections, the publishing of them, with the other Arts and Practices of the Party, had all the good Success that was intended, or cou'd be desir'd. For now behold the Rabble up in Arms, threatening to demolish the Houses of several Lords and Commoners, actually pulling down those of the Dissenters, and forming their Design against the Bank it self, that grievous Nuisance to the Doctor and his Friends, on which they made so seasonable a Run at the time of the late Invasion. Here was now a full Explanation of all the Doctrines and Labours of *Sacheverell*: Here was his tender Regard for Consciences truly scrupulous, set forth by the burning of Meeting-Houses; and his humble Non-Resistance of the Queen explain'd by a furious Rebellion against her. By this it is plain, that

his own Party agreed with the Commons in the same Interpretation of his Sermons, and understood them no otherwise than as Libels upon the Government, expressly fram'd to raise Mutiny and Sedition. Why else did they immediately rebel? Why did they join with the Papists, the Nonjurors, and other open Enemies of the Government, as they are number'd together in the Address of the House of Commons? If they had been true *British* Rabble, they would have made an Attack upon some Mass-*House*, instead of setting fire to the Meeting-House in *Black Friars*, which might probably have burnt the City. But this Preacher and his Fellows have debauch'd the very Principles of the Mob, who have not been always so entirely in the wrong: They us'd to rise formerly against Popery, or some very great and publick Grievance, or open Violation of the Liberties and Properties of the Subject; but never till now against the Government it self, and those that were only defending the Constitution, and pleading for the Liberties of the People.

But now comes the great Scene of the Doctor's Performance, his own Harangue at the Bar of the House of Lords: And here, without entring into a particular Examination of the whole Piece, I cannot help professing with some sorrow, that I think he was too hardly used by those that made it for him, when they oblig'd him to aver in the face of God and the Queen, that he had neither suggested, nor did in his Conscience believe, that the Church is in the least Peril or Adversity from her Majesty's Administration. If those Men had been endu'd with the least Mercy, Conscience, or Humanity, they would never have put into his Mouth such a choking Protestation as this: and I cannot help taking his part against them upon this occasion, as abandon'd a Priest as he is. When this holy Man had, in his Sermon at *St. Paul's*, plainly shewn how obvious

it were to draw a Parallel between the sad Circumstances of the Church of Corinth formerly, and of the Church of England at present, whose Walls and Inclosures are pull'd down, and this pure Spouse of Christ prostituted to more Adulterers than the Scarlet Whore in the Revelations. When in the same wholesome Discourse he had set forth how the Government was fill'd with its profess'd Enemies, and had sum'd up his Remarks upon that head with this moving Interrogation : And now, said he, are we under No Danger in these deplorable Circumstances ? When in that Sermon again he had declar'd to all his Hearers, That we are unhappily Sharers of St. Paul's Misfortune, to have our Church in Perils among False Brethren. When, in his Political Union, he had fully prov'd, what a Reproach it is upon our Church, that those who should be her true Sons should turn such Apostates, Renegadoes, and such false Traitors. When he had found out by deep reasoning, that if the Church can't be pull'd down, it may be blown up ; and shewn, that it is no matter with these Men how it be destroy'd, so that it is destroy'd. And when he had said, that without pretending to the Spirit of Prophecy (which I wonder too he did not pretend to) he could foretel what would become of it, when it is so vigorously attack'd from without, and so lazily defended from within. When, I say, this excellent Divine had shewn all this, and much more to the same purpose, that might be collected out of his curious Writings, what could enter into the Heads of these Penmen of the Speech, to make the poor Wretch swear that he had never suggested the Church was in any Danger ? With what Indignation must every body hear such solemn Appeals made to Heaven for the Truth of a Fact, which the whole Assembly knew to be directly contrary. What Excuse shall we find out for this most harden'd Sinner ? Will it acquit him to say that he did not compose his Speech, and only perform'd his Part like an Actor ? Indeed it may be said to resemble a Play in one respect, because

it was a Farce very well wrought up, and had a wonderful effect on the weak part of his Audience. So that I do not remember to have heard of any thing like it, except once at Athens, where many of the Spectators were so infatuated upon the Representation of a certain Play, that for some days they did nothing else but repeat incoherent words out of it, without Meaning, or Connection. But I am afraid the Doctor is more answerable for the Words of his Speech, than a Player is for those of his Part : And tho with the strength of his Lungs and Action, he gain'd to such a degree the soft Hearts of his Female Friends, that I wonder he should continue to be in favour with any of the Men ; yet I can assure you his Speech had another effect on all the more reasonable People, even of his own Party. And those who were deepest in the Secret, who knew that in his Sermon he expressly pointed not only at the Archbishop, the Bishop of Sarum, and other Men of Characters and Stations, but also at one Minister of State in particular, whom he was strictly commanded to defame, when they heard this sincere Christian call the Searcher of Hearts to witness, in the most solemn and religious manner, as he expected to be acquitted before God and his Holy Angels, at that dreadful Tribunal, before which not only he, but even their Lordships must appear, That he was far from designing to defame her Majesty's Administration ; They were amaz'd, and they trembled at his Oath. Good God ! And is this the Man for whom the People have made an Insurrection ? Is this the Man for whom their Zeal has flam'd out in all manner of Appearances ? Is this the Man whose Effigies is sold about, curiously done in Metzentine, and whose Health is drunk before the Queen's, and mix'd in the same Glass with that of the Church of England ? What can he have to do with any Church, who is the shame of Christianity itself ? And is this the Man for whom so many Tears were shed, when

by his insolent Behaviour he had made that Compassion ridiculous, which would otherwise have been due to one in his Circumstances? How offensive was his Assurance? How nauseous his Presumption, and how atheistical was his purpose, in wickedly perverting divers Texts of Scripture, instead of preaching the Truths of the Gospel, which are plain, certain and unchangeable.

Yet this is the Man that admonishes his Superiours to do their Duties. This is the Man that takes it ill if you doubt his Sincerity, and expects to be thought no Favourer of the Pretender, because, forsooth, he has abjur'd him. This is the loyal and faithful Subject of the Queen, who has affirm'd to the whole World, that the Means of establishing her Throne were odious. This is the great Asserter of her Prerogatives, who every where in his Writings does suggest that the Church groans under her Supremacy. This is the Man that commends the Queen's happy Administration of her Government, and distinguishing Judgment in the Choice of her Ministry; who, in his Dedication to my Lord Mayor, affirms, that all manner of Mischiefs walk up and down this distracted Kingdom with Impunity. This is the Man that had no Intention to asperse the Memory of his late Majesty, who affirms, in his Character of a Low Churchman, that his Government was blown up by the Providence of God; and that he had certainly ruin'd the Church, had not an opportune Providence interpos'd, meaning his Death. And who has been often heard to say, that he ought to be De Witt'd; of which I my self have seen an Affidavit under the hand of Mr. Eberal. This is the Man who appeals to the Persons with whom he has convers'd, for the Soundness of his Principles, and challenges them to shew any Indication of his Dislike to the Protestant Succession, who is known by them all to have frequently revil'd the late King for his curs'd Legacy, which was his ordinary Phrase for the Hanover Succession. This is the Man that, after all which had been said by

the Managers, and even by his own Council, persist'd to the last, that there was no Resistance made to the Supreme Powers at the time of the Revolution, and said it in the very face of the Bishop of London himself. And, lastly, this is the Man that professes he has no Dislike of the Indulgence granted to Dissenters; who, in his Affize-Sermon at Oxford, sums up one of his Paragraphs against them in these words: *Thou*, says he,

is a sufficient Argument how Parag. 55. *little they deserve any Indulgence.* And in another place he asks, *What have such Men to do with Peace or Christian Union?* And in his Sermon at St. Paul's he commends the Zeal of Queen Elizabeth, in pronouncing, *That no Quiet was to be expected from such restless Spirits, till they were utterly suppress'd:* which, says he, *like a pious Princess she did by wholesome Severities.* And he continually in his Discourses demands an Execution of the penal Laws, and exhorts the Bishops to thunder out Anathemas against them, whom he calls

Faithless Impostors, Schismaticks, Filthy Dreamers, Presumptuous Self-will'd Men, mocking Souls of Quail-sick Stomachs, Despisers of Dominion, with Hellish Principles of Fanaticism, Regicide, and Anarchy; headstrong encroaching Monsters, Vipers in our own Body that scatter their Pestilence at Noon-Day; clamorous insatiate Malignants, growing Mischiefs, infectious Plagues, of a Principle which ought to qualify its Professors for a Jail instead of a Church, and bring them to the Scaffold

instead of the Altar; and which is a Combination of all wayward and diabolical Prejudices in one, a damnable Schism, a Generation of Vipers, that will eat thro the very Bowels of our Church, Wolves in Sheeps Clothing, invited by our superior Pastors into Christ's Fold to worry and devour it: A Political Faction in our State, the Bastard Spawn of Papists, and Pan-

Sermon at St. Paul's, pag. 5, 8, 9, 14, 18, 19, 25.

Affize-Sermon, pag. 32, 33, 34, 35.

Political Union, p. 20, 22, 23.

dars, brought forth and nurs'd up in a Conventicle, implacable Enemies, insidious Vipers, Beers of the Wood, and Beasts of the Field.

Did you ever, Sir, behold such a Collection of good Language? And is not this Man a bright Ornament of the Church, who when he had thus profan'd the Dignity of his Office with Railing and Bitterness, instead of preaching Peace: When he had conducted all our Dissenters and their Friends to Hell, appointing them in the next World their Portion with Hypocrites and Unbelievers, with all Lyars, that have their part in the Lake that burns with Fire and Brimstone, with the grand Father of Falshood, the Devil and his Angels: And when he had concluded with these words; So here, said he, we leave our false Brethren in the Company they always keep Correspondence with; had after all this the astonishing Impudence to call himself, in his Speech, an Ambassador of Christ; to say in one place, that he had no Design in view, but to discharge his Duty to God; and to express himself thus in another, I think I may therefore with Confidence use the words of the great Apostle to his Accusers, Having obtain'd Help from God, I continue unto this Day witnessing both to Small and Great, and saying none other things than those which the Prophets and Moses (I may add Christ and his Apostles) did say? What a profane blasphemous Wretch is this Pseudo-Martyr? Did ever Moses and the Prophets, Christ and his Apostles, use such Language as his, or say such things as he has said? Ought not his Punishment to have been much greater, if it had been only for this very Assertion? And what is it that the People are doing who run after him? and what have they to answer for who set them at work? Sure never poor Soul was in so deplorable a Condition! nor had so much occasion for the Prayers of the whole Church! And yet when he came to print this Speech, and dedicate it to the House of Lords, he there us'd an Asseveration that was al-

most as frightful as the rest, and that nobody sure could read without trembling. For he there declares, That the Words of it are in every respect intirely agreeable to his Thoughts and Principles, as he hopes to find Mercy at the Hands of God. Lord have Mercy upon him!

So much for the Doctor himself: and for what concerns his Tryal, nothing could be more admirable than the Management throughout. Not one thing was omitted that could possibly heighten the Rebellion at home, or ruin our Affairs abroad. A knotty Point could not be refer'd to the Judges, but the Question must be ask'd in open Court. But it is not my Design to enter far into such matters; yet I cannot but observe one thing to you, that when his kind Friends and Benefactors in the Upper House, as he himself calls them, came to make a Defence for him, to me I confess they seem'd to do it in a most unfriendly manner; and I cannot help taking his part here once again, and saying, that I do think they were a little too hard upon him. For notwithstanding the great Obligations he professes to have receiv'd from them, some of them call'd him Pragmatical, most of them call'd him Impertinent; and he that was so highly offended when he was stil'd an insignificant Tool by some of the Commons, had the Misfortune to be worse treated by his kind Friends among the Lords. In their warmest Debates they said he was a Madman; in their coolest, they said he was a Fool: and those that spoke best in his Cause, had more Modesty than to attempt his Defence any other way, than by endeavouring to prove that his Sermons were Non-sense. And tho some argu'd very right on the Consequences that might happen, if People shou'd be punish'd for speaking foolishly; yet I cannot but think that here again they were too severe upon the Doctor: For tho he has neither Learning, nor English, and is sometimes defective in the common Rules of Grammar; yet I

cannot think him quite such a Fool as his *kind Benefactors* wou'd have made of him: but am so far from believing, that he has no manner of meaning in any thing he says, or writes, as all his Friends did then give out, That, I think, I have already shewn you, he plainly had a Meaning, and one that was not only malicious, but dangerous. And therefore, since he complains in his Speech, that he has been call'd an *Insignificant Tool on the one hand, and a Dangerous Incendiary on the other; nay an Angel, that is a Devil, detach'd from the infernal Regions*: I do assure him, that, in this diversity of Opinions, I incline rather to be of the latter side, by which, I dare say, I make my Court to him: Only I cannot come up to call him an Angel, from what Region soever he is detach'd. And I have no less Authority, than that of the Majority of the Lords themselves, for believing him not to be an Idiot; since if they had thought him quite void of any meaning, they wou'd never have found him guilty. And when I reflect upon the Nature of their Sentence, and that he was condemn'd by their Lordships for having maintain'd, That the Means us'd to bring about the Revolution were odious, that the Toleration is unreasonable, that the Church is in great Peril, and that her Majesty's Administration tends to the Destruction of the Constitution: I cannot help

once more expressing my Amazement at this audacious Man, who in his Speech so often mention'd did declare, *That the Cause, for which he was judg'd and call'd in question that Day, was what our Blessed Saviour and his Apostles seal'd with their most precious Blood*. For what Resemblance has any part of his Charge to the Doctrines for which our Saviour and his Apostles suffer'd? And what a horrid Wretch is this, who when he was accus'd of a wicked, malicious and seditious Intention to undermine and subvert her Majesty's Government, and the Protestant Succession as by Law establish'd, to defame her Majesty's Administration, to asperse the Memory of his late Majesty, to traduce and condemn the late happy Revolution, to contradict and arraign the Resolutions of both Houses of Parliament, to excite Jealousies and Divisions among her Majesty's Subjects, and to incite them to Sedition and Rebellion; all which is set forth in the Preamble to the Articles: had the Boldness to say before the greatest Judicature in the Kingdom, and the greatest Assembly of the People, That he was try'd for the same Cause for which our Saviour suffer'd? But I am quite sick of him, as I doubt not but you have been a good while, and will therefore give you no further trouble at this time.

June 22. 1710.

I am, &c.

The Third LETTER.

I Come now, Sir, according to my Promise, to consider in the third place, what was done immediately after the Tryal, and what Use the Party have endeavour'd to make of it. The Criminal was no sooner sentenc'd and condemn'd, but Bonfires and Illuminations appear'd in all our Streets; and the Friends of the Doctor, like their Allies the *French*, made publick Rejoicings

that they were not worse beaten. The Doctor was found guilty of High Crimes and Misdemeanors; and this was call'd a Deliverance: A Minister of the Gospel was silenc'd, his Sermons were order'd to be burnt by the Hangman, and a Brand of Infamy was fix'd upon himself; yet this pious Man, who reckon'd it none of the least of his Sufferings to be debar'd at the time of his Tryal from taking

taking heed to that Flock, over which the Holy Ghost had made him an Overseer; and who was so terribly afraid, that any Scar upon his Good Name should spoil his great Capacity of doing Good: Nay, who told their Lordships before-hand, what a load of Guilt and Infamy would be laid upon him, should they determine (as he trusted in God they would not) that the Articles of Impeachment exhibited were made good against him: Now at last, when all these things had happen'd, which he dreaded so much, behold a Set of Prayers is publish'd to the World, which is call'd his Thanksgiving for his Deliverance: in which, among many other such Expressions, there is this, *I will magnify thee, O Lord; for thou hast set me up, and not made my Foes to triumph over me.* Thus tho his Sentence would have been thought, by any true Son of the Church, worse than Death; yet because he was neither condemn'd to a Jail, or a Pillory; nor to have his Ears cut off, or his Nose slit, according to the merciful Examples that were set by his Predecessors in times past; therefore, it is said in the Prayers before-mention'd, *My Soul is escap'd even as a Bird out of the Snare of the Fowler, the Snare is broken and I am deliver'd.* But his Judges had no Design upon his Life, his Limbs, or his Fortune: It was the Doctrine, not the Man, that they purpos'd to condemn.

And yet I cannot but think he should have spar'd his publick Insults and Triumphs upon this Occasion, in regard to his new Friends in the Upper-House: For if his Sentence was so light and trivial, that it was made the Subject of a Thanksgiving, what Opinion must the World have of those Lords who voted for it, when they had before declar'd upon their Honours, that he was guilty of High Crimes and Misdemeanours; and that the Commons had made good every Article of their Charge? Was not this prostituting the Justice of the House of Lords? However, of all Men in the World, he

ought to have kept the Secret, and to have gone quietly and silently off with his Deliverance, as it was call'd: And his Behaviour ever since has only tended to expose his new Benefactors, and to add the black Sin of Ingratitude to all his other Crimes.

But as you have seen already the Use and Application which the Party made of his preaching, in the several Rebellions they rais'd throughout the Kingdom; behold now the Advantages which they wou'd make from the Tryal it self. The first thing they took care to do, was to begin a new Fire from their old Battery, by amusing the World with a fresh Danger of the Church, and possessing the Minds of ignorant People, that this whole Prosecution was carry'd on with no other Intent but to destroy it. To this end the whole Power of the Party was set at work; Lists were printed of the Names of all Persons concern'd, with the very Protests of those Lords that were for saving the Doctor: and that the Nation might continue in the ferment, Addresses were put forwards round the Kingdom, made up of the grossest Contradictions that were ever seen in print. But as before the Tryal, Instructions were given to their Clergy, what Doctrines they were to preach, in which their true Sense and Purpose was cover'd, as I have already shewn: So now there was a Cue given, and some Copies or Patterns of Addresses were sent down to the more dark and ignorant Parts of the Land, such as *Wales, Somersetshire, Oxfordshire, &c.* In which Addresses there was a secret meaning, different from that which was express'd, and the Poison of one Part was conceal'd under the seeming fair Professions of the other. But to Countries more enlighten'd, where they could rely on the Zeal and Abilities of trusty Friends for performing so great a Service, they transmitted some particular Instructions, such as *the Hanover Succession* (see page 12)

that *Sanct* mighty well together): *Primitive Apostolical Doctrines*, and *Indulgence to tender Consciences*: *Zeal for Passive Obedience*, and *Detestation of Resistance*: *A great Rage against Deists, Socinians, and Republicans*; and a *dearing Fondness for a new Parliament*. If you have had the patience to read any of their Addresses, you have seen that these are the Heads upon which they are generally drawn: and you must own, that a better Model cou'd not be given to any Party, that were to address the Queen unintelligibly.

And now are not these Men fine Darlinglings for the present Throne? Very fit to be graciously receiv'd, and to have the Honour of kissing the Queen's Hand? And do not those Officers that introduce them make an admirable Figure in the world?

But to proceed with their Addresses: They promise one thing more, which I forgot to mention, and that is, to maintain her Majesty's Prerogatives. These are known to be both Civil and Ecclesiastical; and mighty tender indeed they have been of both. The former they have constantly labour'd to limit and lessen, ever since it has been employ'd for the Publick Good: The latter they have endeavour'd quite to abolish, by encouraging the Inferiour Clergy to claim an equal and co-ordinate Power with their Bishops, an Exemption from the Queen's Supremacy, and an absolute Independency of the Church from the State. Admirable Maintainers of the Prerogatives indeed! And yet read but one of their Addresses, and you will think they are conjuring for it: for there they declare for *Unlimited Non-Resistance, Unalienable Right, against all Republican, Romish, Traitorous, Schismatical, Anti-Monarchical Principles, Heterodox Opinions*; and a great deal more such Gibberish, as I dare swear three parts of them do not understand, but think there is something very deep and mysterious in the Meaning; and so far I will own they are in the right; tho I think the

Secret is pretty well known by this time.

Another Object of their Care, which I omitted taking notice of, is the Church; of which there has been so much said already, and will be more hereafter, that I will detain you no longer upon that Article in this place.

But the most delightful part of all, is, when they come to the Liberties of the People, which they resolve to take a world of care of. No body, I believe, wonders at many things in this Age; yet it must needs be surprizing, that such Men shou'd offer to take those words into their mouths. How can they have the confidence to mention the Liberties of the People, at the same time that they are labouring to give them all up at once? What have *Absolute Non-Resistance, Unconditional Passive Obedience, and Unlimited Submission*, to do with the Liberties of any People? What absurd things are these modern Addresses? tho in one of them there was a Stroke that was diverting; for they promise to take the same care of these things that they have *Ever* done: which I am confident they will make good, and dare be bound in any Penalty for their strict Performance of that Promise.

Now you have seen what things they will take care of and support, we will enlarge a little upon That which they promise to detest; and this is the damnable Doctrine of Resistance, which sometimes they call Popish and Republican in the same breath. That is to say, the Doctrine of Resistance maintain'd by Papists, which obliges People to oppose their Sovereign whenever the Pope pleases, and to make both him and themselves the Slaves of Antichrist; is suppos'd by these Worshipful Addressers to be the same with that Resistance asserted by Protestants, which instructs People to declare against a Prince, who breaks thro all the Laws, and utterly subverts the Constitution, and which is founded on the natural Rights of Mankind,

kind, and is calculated for the Preservation of their Liberties. And is there not a wonderful Resemblance between these two Doctrines? And are not these Addressers very Learned Persons, who suppose them to be the same? But I should tire you too much, if I went thro' all their Nonsense. When the Hereditary Right has been fully display'd, there generally follows a tender Expression in favour of our present Settlement: and then perhaps in the very same Paragraph, you shall find with equal wonder and delight, an utter Abhorrence of that Resistance which was the Foundation of that same Settlement: And immediately after, you shall see a most kind and dutiful Tender of Lives and Fortunes to maintain that Government, the Foundation of which they had just before been undermining. They promise an absolute unlimited Non-Resistance to a Government that they own to be limited; and they vow and swear they will defend the Revolution, at the same time that they detest all Resistance. But who wou'd argue with such Men as these, who have confounded the very Names of Persons and Things? And therefore it is not strange to find those that are *High for the Uninterrupted Succession* declare their Zeal for the House of *Hanover*, and the old rooted inveterate Presbyterians of *Radnorshire* promise to chuse constant Communicants.

There are one or two things more, which I cannot help observing in these Addresses: First, Whereas her Majesty promises inviolably to maintain the Toleration, these Addressers say they do by no means presume to disapprove that legal Impunity which is allow'd to Consciences truly scrupulous. Pray observe the difference of these Expressions; what her Majesty will *inviolably maintain*, they by no means *presume to disapprove*. But their late Association in *North-Wales*, not to deal with any Dissenter, shews plainly their Tenderness for Consciences truly scrupulous. Another thing I cannot help observing, is, that the poor

Duke of *Marlborough* has quite and clean lost all their good Graces; not once is his great Name mention'd in all these Loyal Addresses, tho' he had but just before pass'd the *French Lines*. But I have observ'd, that he has fallen by just degrees still more and more out of their favour, as his Conquests advanc'd nearer to their beloved Kingdom of *France*: And now that he has enter'd the very Country, and is actually pulling down that Hereditary Monarch, I suppose he is grown to be quite detested, as a Man that is *Antimonarchical*. And this puts me in mind of a most impotent piece of Malice, which this Party shew'd against him at the time of the Tryal; when among the Passages produc'd to support their Cause, there was decently foisted in a most unjust Reflection upon him, out of one of *Tutchin's* Observations. And upon that occasion some of his Friends were ask'd, where was then their General? as if he was wanted to answer a most impudent Lye in open Court. Poor and harmless Malice! Where was he, did they say? Why he was abroad upon the Nation's Business, forming the Projects of a Glorious Campaign, and laying the Schemes of our future Peace and Safety; and he was using his best Endeavours to stop the Mischiefs which their Rebellion and other Practices had done to the Common Cause. And I desire to know no more of any Party, than that they should never have made one Bonesfire or Illumination for all the Victories of this General, and so many of both for the shameful Mock-Triumphs of *Sacheverell*! But it was still more amazing, that they should have the Confidence to reflect on him, not only before the Queen herself, to whom he has been the best and the most useful Subject that ever any Sovereign had; but that of all places in the world, they should do it in *Westminster-Hall*, which is quite hung round with the most glorious Ornaments, the Trophies he has gain'd from our Enemies.

But the great End of all these Addresses, which is the Dissolution of this Parliament, deserves to be consider'd a little more at large: Her Majesty is still assur'd by these worthy Persons, That whenever that shall happen, they will use *their utmost Care* to chuse another. But it would be worth enquiring, first, what one Reason can be given why this should be dissolv'd. Will any other Parliament take more care of the Prerogatives of the Crown, or of the Liberties of the People, or even of the Church it self, notwithstanding the Clamours of these Men that are destroying it? Will it give more effectual Supplies, or time them more seasonably? Will it do more towards the quieting all Dissension among her Majesty's Subjects, towards establishing good Order and Happiness at home, and procuring a safe and honourable Peace to *Europe*? Will any other Parliament give her Majesty a juster Assurance and Expectation than the express'd to this at the opening of the last Session, or more fully answer the Hopes that were then conceiv'd? No man can suppose any part of this to be possible: Therefore what is it that may reasonably be expected from another House of Commons? It cannot be the Safety of the Queen and her Kingdoms, the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and a happy Conclusion of the War: These things are as well consulted and provided for by this Parliament, as they can possibly be by any other. Therefore it must needs, after all, be something that this House of Commons will not do: And I believe 'tis not very difficult to guess what that is, supposing there were to be a Majority of such Men as our Addressers. What is it then that this wretched Party teaze the Queen about? How bold and undecent is it in them to prescribe what she shall do, and pretend to direct her Councils, and to hasten a Dissolution? What Opinion must the Queen have of such Men, as are angry at the Proceedings of this Parliament, fond of

changing the present Members, and full of Joy at the prospect of a new Election? Do these Addressers think her Majesty is weary of her Crown, or that she will be drawn into a Plot against her self? Do they think she does not know them? Do they think she does not know the true Value of such Addresses, or that she never heard of those that were presented to King *James*, and even to *Richard Cromwell*? Do they think in earnest that she will be persuaded to dissolve a Parliament which has given her Six Millions a year, to gratify a Party who have constantly labour'd to clog her Government? I should be pleas'd to know the bold new Counsellors that would give her such Advice. For I should beg leave to tell them, that such violent Measures have generally return'd with Vengeance upon the Advisers: And they begin their Ministry with a heavy Load, who make Four Hundred Gentlemen fall a Sacrifice to the first Instance of their Power; for so many at least there are in this House of Commons, who are true to the Interest of their Country, and who will have Strength enough hereafter to resent such Usage, and most probably even in the next Parliament. Why then is any one Whig in *Great Britain* discourag'd at these Proceedings? Is their Cause, which is founded on our very Constitution, which has been so vigorously supported at home, and so gloriously defended abroad, to be run down at last by a Faction? Are we all to be frighten'd out of our Wits by such a Scare-Crow as *Sacheverell*? And must the Laws, the Government, and the Queen give way to this whiffing incendiary and his Mob? Surely no: Tho they carefs him to day, they would hang him to morrow. How long did ever their vain Favour last? And will the Queen, to make way for these People, displace her present Ministry? Will she send another General to the Army? I should be glad to hear him nam'd, being quite unable to guess who it should be. Will she place another

Man over her Exchequer, because our Credit is now higher than any was ever known to be after so long a War: and being in great measure supported by the present good Management, must infallibly sink upon a Change in that Office? When I reflect on the hopeful Person that is named to have the chief Direction of the Revenue upon a Removal of my Lord Treasurer, it puts me in mind

Enquiry into the Reasons for abrogating the Test.

of a Passage in one of the Bishop of Salisbury's excellent Papers, that were written before the Revolution; where taking notice of Samuel

Parker's succeeding Dr. Fell in the Bishoprick of Oxford, he says, *That since Commodus succeeded Marcus Aurelius, he does not find a more incongruous Succession in History:* And having mention'd all the good Qualities of the Predecessor, he concludes his Remark thus; *With what sensible Regret, says he, must those who knew him, look on, when they see such a Harlequin in his room?*

But there is no danger sure of such Revolutions as these. And I should hope that the Queen's last Speech had gone a great way towards the Cure of our National Frenzy, and that according to her Majesty's most prudent direction every body would have study'd to be quiet, and to do their own business. And this was the true reason why those that wish well to her Government, have generally declin'd Addressing, unless in some particular places, where the Riots and Rebellions were so flaming, that it was necessary to express a Detestation of them: Otherwise they justly thought that these Disturbances of the publick Peace only made themselves contemptible, and that the Eyes of the People whom they deluded would be effectually open'd before that new Election happens, which seems to be the great End of all their Labours. For Britains cannot long believe that Tumults, Sedition, and the Breach of all Laws, are

necessary to the Service of the Church and of the Queen. None but the very Dregs of the Rabble can be so shamefully deluded as this. What Mortals else can believe, that the People who had like to have involv'd us in Blood and Fire, wish well to the Government of their Country? Who does not know the Persons that were the chief Advocates of this Doctor? Who does not know the part that some of them had in the Tryals of King Charles II's Reign? in opposing the Settlement of the Crown by their Rhetorick, and in exposing the Kingdom since by their Management? None but such Men as these could have had the boldness to defend this Criminal: None but such Men, or others like themselves, would have encourag'd their Dependents to meet them in their Countrys: For after all, this Mob is not natural, but forc'd. None but such Men would keep up a Ferment, which can tend to nothing but the Ruin of the Protestant Interest. Who were the Persons that took part with the Doctor at his Tryal? Papists, and all other Enemies of the Government. Who were his chief Spokesmen in both Houses? The same that were against the Abdication, against the Union, against the War; the same that forc'd the late King to make the Partition-Treaty, and afterwards impeach'd his Ministers that were no way concern'd in it. This admirable Collection of true Patriots, closely united with the Persons before-mention'd, are now striving who shall do most to extol this ridiculous Pageant: This is the Idol whom they jointly worship as a publick Blessing to the Nation; who as far as in him lies has given up our Estates, our Liberties, and our Lives. But sure this Madness cannot continue long: For who can ever believe, that when France cannot ruin Great Britain, Sacheverell can do it?

June 29. 1710.

I am, Sir

The Fourth LETTER.

THE Conclusion, Sir, of my last Letter naturally led me to the Fourth Head mention'd in my First; wherein I promis'd to give you my poor Opinion concerning the Consequences of this Tryal: And I cannot help observing to you in the first place, that notwithstanding the ill Uses which this desperate Party have made of it, and the Hopes they have entertain'd from it of a total Change of the Ministry, of a Dissolution of the Parliament, and of all manner of Mischiefs coming upon the Nation; yet I think, among all these dismal prospects it has had two substantial good Effects already, which will in time work to the confusion of our Addressers and their Friends.

And the first is, That it has discover'd more plainly the Designs, the Correspondence, and the Conspiracies of this whole Party, with the Causes and Originals of them, than any thing that has yet happen'd since the Revolution. If their former Actions had not sufficiently shewn their Principles and Inclinations, yet no body can at this time longer doubt what they are driving at, when they read in the *Paris Gazette* what part the *French Court* took in this Tryal; what satisfactory Accounts are there given of the great number of Lords and Commons that sided with the Doctor, and of the many other Doctors that preach'd the like Sermons; how feelingly the Author of that Paper speaks of Passive Obedience, Hereditary Right, and Unlimited Submission to the lawful Sovereign; what formidable Descriptions are made of the Tumults and Disorders that happen'd, in which they say above a Hundred of the Queen's Guards were kill'd [the only Advantage they can pretend to over her Majesty's Forces]; What pleasing notice is taken of our Addressers, which have been carry'd

on so much to their content: What eloquent Descriptions are made of the Insults offer'd in our Circuits to the Managers against *Sacheverell*, and of the wonderful Favours shewn to all his Friends, but more particularly bestow'd upon his chief Council. Can any one after this doubt, in what Cause that Council is retain'd? Every good and faithful Subject needs only look into the *Daily Courant* of June 10. to see how this Affair is understood by our Friends and our Enemies abroad. For there we find an Account of two Books, one printed in *France*: in *Clef du Cabinet des Princes del Europe* which, after it has been represented how our ancient Laws, Oaths, and Constitutions have been violated since the Revolution; how a Father has been dethron'd, and an *Hereditary Crown* dispos'd of, to the prejudice of a Prince, who is the lawful Heir of it, and who was banish'd out of the Kingdom of his Ancestors when he was but six months old; the Author concludes with these words: *I am persuaded, says he, that if Dr. Sacheverel, and a great number of other Englishmen, Anglois of the High-Church, had entire liberty to speak out, they would set all these Truths, which I do but just hint at, in their full light.* The other Book, there mention'd, is printed at the *Hague*: And *Lettres Historiques* in that the Author says he does not pretend to judge of *Dr. Sacheverel's Intentions*; but divers Passages in his Sermon, taken in their natural sense, seem to him to reflect terribly on the late King William, on the Queen now reigning, upon the Parliament, and upon the Use of Hanover. Thus you see how entirely the *French* are for the High-Church; and are only sorry this Doctor and his Friends dare not speak out, being well assur'd

affur'd that their Hearts are right: But the *Dutch* think he spoke plainly enough, and reflected sufficiently on the Queen and the Protestant Succession. And the necessary Conclusion from these Quotations, is this, That those who condemn'd the Doctor had the hearty Concurrence of our Allies; and those that acquitted him, spoke and acted according to the Sense and the Wishes of our Enemies: And this, I say, in time must work, and show the People of this Nation who are their Friends and their Enemies, if a total Subversion does not happen before the present Frenzy is abated.

Another good Consequence of the Tryal is, That by it the Revolution was justify'd to all succeeding Ages: since those very Men that were retain'd to speak against the Resistance then us'd, did own that it is lawful in Cases of such extreme Necessity. So great is the Force of Truth, that it will squeeze it self sometimes out of any Mouths by chance! And if this Tryal had been ended, without the Tumults and Rebelions that were rais'd to interrupt the Proceedings, it had been as fatal a Blow to the Pretender at this time, as it was a lasting Sanction to the Revolution. What had become of our Nation, of *Europe*, of every thing that is or ought to be dear to us; if Non-Resistance had been the Doctrine in vogue, when the late King came over to our Deliverance? What had become of the Church it self, which was then in danger with a witness, if the Principles of this Doctor had been believ'd and follow'd? And is he now become her Champion, and those that impeach'd him her Enemies? Could any thing contribute more to endanger the Church, and bring scandal upon it, than the Behaviour of this Preacher, both in the Pulpit and out of it? And is this the Person that was in such dreadful apprehensions, and that alarm'd the whole Kingdom with Dangers from the Queen and her Ministry? Is her Majesty, and those that were then her Ministers, endanger'd the

Church, it must have been by such Acts as these: By giving part of her own Revenue to support it, and by promoting and *Repeal of Stat.* passing an Act in order of Mortmain, to enrich it more:

By excluding all Papists for ever, and destroying their *Hereditary Right* to this Crown: By filling the vacant Bishopricks with such Antichristian Antimonarchical Bishops, as would in time have converted most of our Dissenters: By reducing the great Enemy of our Church, and of the whole Protestant Interest, after eight successful Campaigns, to the limits of his own Dominions. These have been the terrible Designs of the Queen and those Ministers against this poor Church; and therefore it was high time for the Doctor and his Friends to redouble their Cry of its Danger, lest the *French King* should have sign'd the Preliminaries: for that would certainly have been the greatest Blow to their Church that it has yet receiv'd. But if the Church by Law establish'd is still in a safe and flourishing Condition, and was not attack'd, but preserv'd, by the Tryal of *Dr. Sacheverel*; which it were easy to prove beyond all manner of contradiction: what could all the Tumults that were then rais'd tend to, but another Restoration? How comes the Pretender's Health to be now drunk publicly? Why is such a Clamour rais'd about the Hereditary Right? Is there any other Right pretended to at *St. Germain's*? If any man there should be ask'd, What Right his young Master has? will not the Answer be, An Hereditary Right, deriv'd to him from his Royal Ancestor King *James*? Why then are we grown so fond of that Title, and so weary of the other? Is it reviv'd to do honour to the Memory of King *William*, who had none of it? Or to secure the House of *Hanover*, that never can pretend to it? Is it reviv'd to keep out the Popish Line, who claim by nothing else, and whose Advocates assert it openly with the Doctrine of

Non-Resistance, from which they expect more Service to their Cause, than from all the beaten Troops of our Enemies? Why then is that Doctrine so cherish'd just now? Do you really believe, my Friend, that all these Men, who talk of the Queen's Hereditary Right, are satisfy'd in their Consciences that the Pretender is Illegitimate? Is it forgot when a Scheme was offer'd to King *William* for making him his Successor, which that Prince reject'd with Indignation, and abhor'd ever after the Men that propos'd it? And is it not known who those very Men were? If the Hereditary Right is to take place, are not some even of the House of *Bourbon* before the House of *Hanover*? And was not the Right by which her Majesty now reigns establish'd by Law, whilst her Father was alive? And where pray was then this Hereditary Right?

But her Majesty would now be lawful and rightful Queen, tho King *James* were still living; her Title is fix'd and settled by Parliamentary Limitation. And because these Men seem still to be utter Strangers to it, I will shew them

how it stands. By two Acts of Parliament the 1st of *William* and *Mary*. Crown was settled upon the late King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and

the Survivor of them: Next upon Queen *Mary*'s Issue; and after King *William*'s Life, and in default of Issue by the said Queen, upon her present Majesty, &c. And by another Act of Parliament it is expressly

4th of Q. Ann. declar'd to be High Treason, to say that any Person has any Right to the Crown otherwise than according to those two Acts beforemention'd. What then will become of most of our Addressers, who so freely bestow all other Titles upon her Majesty, and so boldly disclaim the true one? They are every man of them at Mercy, and ought immediately to be prosecuted for their Addressers.

After such a Settlement of the Crown, as I have now shewn, one would hardly have expected to hear any more of Hereditary Right and Non-Resistance: For by these Acts of Parliament, which are the best Claim and Title that any Sovereign can have, her Majesty now reigns; and she has had the Purse of the greatest part of her Subjects freely open'd, to support the Crown which, by these Laws she possesses. But it was the equal Administration at home, and the great Successes abroad, which made that Crown flourish. By these she has had the Happiness to excel all her Predecessors in the Glories and Wonders of her Reign: Battles have been gain'd upon the Borders of the *Danube*: The falling Empire has been supported; our victorious Armies have been carry'd from *Nimeguen* to *Doway*; the great Enemy of *Europe* has been beaten out of most of his strong Fortresses; and now behold that Universal Monarch a meek Petitioner for Peace! Yet after all this, when our Armies were just penetrating into his Country, and when, at the head of this great Alliance, we seem'd to have quite preserv'd the Rights and Liberties of Mankind, and *Europe* was in daily expectation of Repose; an unaccountable Scheme is laid here, to spoil all that has been doing these twenty years: The poor Church is again in peril, which always forebodes some dangerous growing Evil: And according to the Precedents that are frequent in History of Great Captains, ruin'd abroad by some sneaking Faction at home, the whole Effort of this Party is now made against our General: His Victories are his Crimes, in their way of accounting, for which his whole Family is to be under Persecution, and one of them is already disgrac'd. Good God! what is our mad Nation doing, and where will these things end! In vain are all our boasted Conquests, if these dark Artificers of Mischief are suffer'd to work unpunish'd: Generals have often been recall'd

recall'd upon ill Success; Ministries have been chang'd upon Treachery, bad Management; or publick Difficulties; and Parliaments have been dissolv'd, when they differ'd with the Crown. But to have a General mortify'd and punish'd in the Course of his Victories; a Minister displac'd in the height of his Credit; and a Parliament dissolv'd, that so lately had Thanks from the Throne, is so strange and bold a stroke of Politicks, as cou'd proceed from none but those odd Counsellors and Persons, that are born up and supported by this Tide of popular Fury, and that will make a fine Figure when they come to be seen in Power. Some People need only be shewn, to make them appear ridiculous.

Yet nothing less than all this will satisfy the Zeal and Malice of this Party; and these are the Ends which are to be brought about by their Addresses, which one wou'd think were so many Charms; and in one sense they may properly be call'd so, because they are downright Nonsense. For there is not a Doctrine of Popery, not even Transubstantiation it self, which is more irreconcilable with Reason, than all the Parts of their Addresses are with the present Constitution of our Government. And as Archbishop Tillotson says, in his Discourse against Transubstantiation, 'That it might well seem strange ' if a Man shou'd write a Book to prove ' that an Egg is not an Elephant, or ' that a Musket-Bullet is not a Pike; ' and that it was as hard a Case to be ' put to write against that Doctrine.' The very same thing may be affirm'd of the present Dispute about Non-Resistance, Hereditary Right, and Unlimited Obedience in this limited Monarchy, rais'd by Resistance, and form'd by Parliament. But yet as it was highly requisite to write against the monstrous Absurdities of Popery, at a time when the Nation was in danger of being poison'd with those Errors; it is as absolutely necessary now to expose these

Contradictions in our Politicks, which are no better than State-Popery: and to assert those Doctrines on which our Settlement is founded, when others are advanc'd that are destructive of it. And if the Dispute be thought undecent, and should rather have been avoided, the fault must be laid at their Door who begun it, and who extorted Replies from the other side. And in this we have only pursu'd the Directions which her Majesty her self was pleas'd to give in her last most gracious Speech, wherein she exhorted all her Subjects to advance their present Happiness, *and to secure the Protestant Succession.* What then have these People been doing ever since? Have they forgot already that most seasonable good Advice? Have they forgot already her Majesty's most wise Declaration, in her Answer to an Address of the House of Lords, (*March the 13th, 1703.*) That she should always have her chief dependence upon *such as have given repeated Proofs of the greatest Warmth and Concern for the Support of the Revolution?* Have they forgot the Royal Thanks given in a particular manner to the Gentlemen of the House of Commons, *for the Dispatch they made, in providing so early in the year such great and effectual Supplies for the Publick Service?* And have they after this the Boldness to promote a Dissolution of this Parliament, and to say with the Gentry of *Oxfordshire*, that it would be *To the extreme Joy of the People?* Vain and frontless Men! Of the People do they say? What People can they mean, except the Inhabitants of *St. Germain's*, and their Friends here, howsoever distress'd and dispers'd over the face of *Great Britain*: whether they be Papists or Nonjurors, Applicationers, or Addressors; Hereditary Right men, or Occasional Abjurors; Seditious Trumpeters, or Preaching Heralds; Insignificant Tools, or Dangerous Incendiaries; Knights of modern Church-Chivalry, or their Squires the Rabble; or by what other Names or

Titles soever dignify'd and distinguish'd.

But I hear this Army of the High Church-Militant boast now of having some Recruits, that cannot yet be so properly accus'd as themselves of having been against their Country. All I can say to this, is, That if these new Allies act with their new Friends, they will immediately grow to be like them; and if they deceive their new Friends, which is as probable, it will not be the first time that it has happen'd, and there will be no great danger from it. But however that may prove, it was certainly so new and so light a Proceeding to condemn the Doctor first, and to acquit him afterwards, that whoever have acted that Part, will add no great weight for the future to any Cause they shall espouse; but will be treated, by all reasonable Men, with that regard which is justly due to such mean crooked Politicks, and to such pitiful childish Revenge.

So that I think the Party will be so far from receiving a sure strength from these new Friends, that it will soon be in a condition to want a much stronger Alliance; for the Tide begins already to turn against the Doctor and his Followers. The new Sheriffs of London are chosen by a vast Majority, and unheard of Spirit of the Citizens; and the Influence of this City is so great, that you will easily believe the same right Humour will by degrees diffuse it self thro the whole Country. And when it shall be known that these Men endeavour'd first with their Rabble to hinder our Supplies, and since with their Addresses to dissolve that Parliament which they could not frighten: When it shall be known to the whole Kingdom, as plainly as it is now to Men of Business and Intelligence, that these People have actually stop'd the Peace, and that the French King would have come to Terms before this day, but for the hopes he has conceiv'd of a new Ministry in Great Britain: When it shall be seen that our Funds are sinking

all at once, and that no body will undertake to remit Money to our Army; or rather, no Money will be found to be remitted: And, above all, when it shall be known who they are that have occasion'd or contriv'd all this Mischief, and have thus sported with a free, brave and wealthy Nation, and endeavour'd to crush those Ministers who have done us faithful Services: Then will a severe Account be demanded of these Matters; and therefore a Dissolution is so violently press'd, in order to prevent that Reckoning. And this puts me in mind of the P——t in the late King's time, which was dissolv'd by this very Party, who had then got the Power: And that you may see upon what Grounds they proceeded, and for what good Ends they have been us'd to dissolve P——ts, I will give you a short account of that Affair.

When the King of Spain died, the Parliament then in being had just sat two Sessions, as this has done; and the French King having rejected the Treaty of Partition, and accepted the Will, another War was reasonably and justly expected. The Elector of Bavaria sent over a Minister, promising to keep Flanders till the War should be declar'd, and the Dutch by frequent Memorials press'd our Court to come to some speedy and vigorous Resolution. But now what Returns do you think these true Patriots, who were then in power, made to all this? Why, truly, instead of calling the P——t immediately, they came to no Resolution of any kind till Christmas; and then, on purpose to prevent the War, they dissolv'd it, and appointed a new one to meet in February following. In the mean time the Elector's Minister was so ill receiv'd here, that for this reason only he went unwillingly into the measures of France, which has been one great occasion of this long and bloody War. And the time for the new P——t's assembling being put off for a Week or Fortnight, it happen'd by great Fortune, if not by secret

Concert,

Concert, to meet on the very same day that the *French Troops* took possession of all the Towns in *Flanders*. This you will own was a lucky Incident at the opening of a Tory P——t; and the *Dutch*, who had receiv'd very cold Answers from hence to all their Memorials, being forc'd, with the *French Swords* at their Throats, to acknowledg the Duke of *Anjou*, the same thing was likewise to be done here: The King was press'd Day and Night to consent that it might be mov'd in the House of Commons: The Question was ready pen'd, and put into several stanch Packets; Sir J. G——r was to move it, and Sir C—— M——e was to second it; but the Motion gave such a just and general Offence, that it was quash'd at first hearing, and their Troops would have suffer'd a total Rout upon this Service, if they had not been brought off by a certain great Hero in Civil Affairs, who has been lately said to be braver than the Duke of *Marlborough*. However it must be confess'd that the Business was well laid; for within two days after this Disappointment, which was little expected, a Letter appear'd from the Duke of *Anjou*, to notify his Accession to the Crown of *Spain*; and a decent Return was soon made to *Spain*, by way of Letter of Congratulation, which the King was known to sign with the utmost reluctance. But he was in the hands of those that would have it so, and could not help himself: and the Partition-Treaty was now set aside, the chief Business of this House of Commons was to impeach some Lords, that they would fancy had made it, as Men, I suppose, who had divided the Duke of *Anjou's* Hereditary Dominions. This was the great use which they made of their Majority, at a time when all things were in danger at Home and Abroad. But when King *James* died in *France* the next Autumn, and the Pretender was there acknowledg'd, the People of this Nation began to have their Eyes open'd; and perceiving plain-

ly at last what their new P——t had brought them to, they universally petition'd for another, which they had the Winter following.

This is a true History of the last Dissolution, which these Men forc'd upon the Nation, and which has since cost us Forty Millions: and the Dissolution that the same People now push for, will infallibly lose the good effect of all those Millions which have been employ'd with such Glory and Success. Our Reputation was higher six months ago, than in the days of our *Edwards*, our *Henrys*, or Queen *Elizabeth*; and it seem'd as if we needed only to stretch out our hands, and reach the Blessings of Peace. But a sudden turn is given to our Prosperity; we are throwing away the Liberties of our Country and of *Europe* at one stake, and no body knows for what; and our Allies wait only for the News of a Dissolution, to declare to all the World, that they will have no more to do with us, nor ever trust us again.

We are sure therefore to be undone before a new P——t can sit, supposing it should prove a good one; and if it should be such as these men expect, let what will happen, it could never sit but once; that was the Fate of their P——t in the King's time: And no Management can support their Party longer, nor any Ministers be able to satisfy them without losing their own Heads. But how can they still hope to break this House of Commons, after the Assurances which her M—— has given, that she will make no more Changes in her Ministry? For how can that which must occasion a total Change at once, be reconcil'd with such a Promise? Or what Equivocation can my L—— of Y—— find out to save it? But how vain would be his Endeavours, if he should try to carry her M—— from the plain direct ways of Truth, into the By-Paths of Deceit or Dissimulation? What therefore can those Persons mean, who, in order to carry on their ruinous Designs, begin already to unsay what
the

she herself was pleas'd so graciously to declare? What can they propose by it, but to lessen her M—— great Character, in hopes of recommending the Pretender? as if they had nothing now in view to support themselves or their Cause, but to send for him over immediately. And indeed the way is already shewn, and a good Precedent produc'd for it, in a Book call'd, *An Impartial Account of what pass'd relating to the Case of Dr. Sacheverel*. For there the Author quotes a Passage from a Noble Historian, giving an Account what a great and sudden Change there was in this Kingdom, upon Sir John Greenville's bringing Letters from K. Charles. *From this time*, says he, *there was such an Emulation and Impatience in Lords, and Commons, and City, and generally over the Kingdom, who shou'd make the most lively Expressions of their Duty, and of their Joy, that a Man cou'd not but wonder where those People dwelt who had done all the Mischief, and kept the King so many Tears from enjoying the Comfort and Support of such excellent Subjects.* So far the Noble Historian. And may it always happen thus! says the excellent Author of this *Impartial Account*. This, I think, needs no Comment: and all the world must own that the Passage is well apply'd to their present Case. And if the French King does not take this good Encouragement to send the Pretender once more to your Country, he ought never to be forgiven by these Men or their Posterity. But he will doubtless do his best to promote this great Event. And the French Court see so clearly the Tendency of our new Councils, and conceive such certain

Hopes from them, that one of their Bishops, in a fulsome Piece of Flattery to their King, uses these Expressions: *Your Love, Sir, to the Church, is the principal Motive that has arm'd so many Nations; who*

don't so much hate the Conqueror who has so often subdu'd them, as the Destroyer of Heresy, the Defender of Royal Majesty, and

the only Sanctuary of Kings persecuted for the Faith. But God, who disposes the Hearts of Kings as well as gives Victory, is certainly now preparing some secret Remedies, or unforeseen Events. Yes, Sir, we have firm Confidence, either that he will inspire all Princes with Thoughts of Peace, or that dividing the Nations that will have War, he will declare for your Majesty's Arms. It would be as needless to explain what he means by secret Remedies and unforeseen Events, as to tell you what King he thinks is persecuted for the Faith. And if there were any thing mysterious in these Expressions, every Gazette which comes from that Court might help to unriddle the Secret. For there you may see a constant Account at large of every thing that passes here: what Doctrines are reviv'd and preach'd, which I take to be some of the secret Remedies; and what Changes are made or expected, which are some of the unforeseen Events. In one of these Papers it is said, That the Bishop of Salisbury taking occasion to preach against Passive Obedience, was deserted by most of his Hearers, who went out of the Church: But Dr. Sacheverel was met in his way to Oxford by an Earl, with many Coaches and Horsemen, and enter'd the City with the Acclamations of the People. See what excellent good Friends the Paris Gazetteer, the Doctor, and his Earle! And how mightily they are pleas'd in France, to hear that the Bishop of Salisbury preaches to a thin Audience!

Here is now a secret Remedy for the Ills which France endures; which is, our Peoples growing fond of the Doctrine of Passive Obedience: and here is also an unforeseen Event, which is, that such a Criminal as Sacheverel should be suffer'd to insult the Nation, and be caress'd by Men of the first Quality. Yet 'tis impossible sure that this Earl should be for the Court of St. Germain's, because 'tis known he is in hopes of immediate Preferment in this. In another of their Gazettes the good News is told in France, That our Court is much dissatisfy'd with the

the E— of S—. Nay, says that Author, *there is a Report that he will be oblig'd to quit his Office.* And when that happen'd, as the Gazetteer's Correspondents sent him word it would, he took very particular notice of it in his next Paper, and did not forget to add whose Son-in-Law he is: *The E— of S—*, said he, *Son-in-Law to the D— of M—gh, is laid aside.* Here was now another *secret Remedy*, tho not an *unforeseen Event*: For nothing was more surely expected than that, if ever this Party got Power, they would make their first Attack upon that Family, which had destroy'd the Hopes of the Pretender. But the Reason that is given, in another *Gazette*, for the removal of this Minister, is admirable: *People, says that Writer, attribute the Disgrace of the E— of S— to divers Occasions of Complaint that he had given to the D— of S— and O—.* This I am confident was an *Event unforeseen* by the whole World, that any Secretary of State should be remov'd for having fallen under the Displeasure of those Noble Persons: However it seems, the Report of their Unkindness to that Earl, has gain'd them the good Graces of the *French Court*, which I heartily wish 'em much Joy of. And it appears also, by this Author, that the same Court is extremely well satisfy'd with the Choice that was made here of a new Secretary, which all Mankind must own was a very *unforeseen Event*: *Lord D—th, says he, who succeeded the E— of S—, was one of those Lords that voted for Dr. Sacheverel.* This you see is the chief Recommendation, and the greatest Character that can be given of our Countrymen, by those that write in *France*: where, by the way, this Doctor's Health is publickly drunk, as is testify'd by some Sea-Officers that have been lately at *St. Maloes*, and other Places. And therefore it ought to be some Comfort to the E— of S— in his Retirement, to find by all Accounts from *France*, that not a Man in their Court would restore him. Which adds

extreamly to the Honour of those bold *Britains* here that turn'd him out; and would afford a good Subject for Ridicule, if it were reasonable to jest upon so dismal an Occasion: but sure 'tis high time to be serious, when all that is doing here is so fully approv'd of in *France*.

And this brings me to another *secret Remedy* for all the Misfortunes of our *Enemys*, which is, the Destruction of our Credit. If upon every Report of a Dissolution, or of farther Changes in the Ministry, the Bank falls immediately, the People at home think of drawing out of our Funds, and Foreigners begin to turn their Effects into Money, in order to remit them home: This is a Demonstration, that those who are now striving to get into the Ministry cannot make one Step that does not carry publick Ruin along with it. The further any one looks into this Gulph, the more Horror it will give him: The invading our Nation, the burning our City, the loss of as many Battles as we have gain'd, can have no worse Consequences, than the breaking of our Credit: which would be a total Overthrow of our Government at once, and cou'd never be repair'd. Therefore among all the Doubts and Fears we labour under, there seems to be but one thing certain, which is, That if it were possible for these Men to force themselves into the Management of Affairs; If it were possible for them to begin a Ministry with such a Load upon them as the dissolving a Parliament that has given Six Millions a year, the breaking an Alliance which depends wholly on that Parliament, and the loss of Credit at home, and Peace abroad: Yet it is most evident, that neither the Cash of their whole Party, nor all their Interest in the Nation, nor any thing indeed but the Bank which they would ruin, cou'd support the Service an Hour. Therefore here I will leave 'em for the present; and expect the terrible Effects of their wild Councils: they have already lost the Nation Three Millions and a half; and have convinc'd the

World, that they can neither carry on the War, nor obtain a Peace. If therefore they are sure of their other Game at last, it must be confess'd they have play'd it well, and like true Subjects that are for *Loyalty without Bounds, and Obedience without Reserve*. But if after all, the French King shou'd find it difficult at this time to send over *him that is persecuted for the Faith*: And if those who thus openly declare for another Restoration, and who triumph in the Prospect they have of it, and in the Hopes of that Slavery which they petition for in their Addresses, shou'd meet with one Disappointment more at this critical Juncture, and our Parliament and Credit shou'd stand this last and greatest Shock; depend upon it my Friend, their Cause, like all popular Tumults, will grow cold and die of it self: And the same Rabble that they have arm'd against others, will rise upon themselves, and break all their bold unfinish'd Projects. It will be too late then to cry that the Church is in danger, without being able to give the least Proof of it: It will be too late to lay the Blame upon Republicans, of whom there is hardly one in the Island, taken in the sense these People mean it: It will be too late to shew this Doctor at *Oxford*, as one of the Rarities of the Place, to meet that Gaucy Itinerant in his *grand Tour* about

the Country, to applaud the Doctrine of that *Perverter of God's Word*, to *kiss the very Hand that falsify'd the Scripture*, and by such low and wicked Arts to keep up the present Ferment. Our Nation will most surely awake from this Insatiation, and reassume its antient Vigour: our Constitution will revive and preserve it self against future Attacks; and the Men who have honestly serv'd us at home, and who have bravely fought for us abroad, will have the Honour and Esteem that they deserve.

So that to conclude, Sir, at last my tedious Accounts of this Tryal, I think upon the whole matter, there were the most just and necessary Grounds for undertaking it. I think what happen'd at the time of it, and after it was ended, did abundantly confirm and explain that Necessity: And I hope it will have none of those ill Consequences that are so much apprehended at present. For how is it possible to conceive that Sedition and Nonsense should silence all Justice and Reason? Or that gross and apparent Schemes of Slavery and Popery should prevail against two things, so amiable in themselves, and so beneficial to Mankind, as LIBERTY and TRUTH?

July 5, 1710.

I am, &c.

P O S T.

P O S T S C R I P T.

ADVICE is now come, that notwithstanding the Instructions sent from hence to our Ministers, to make use of any Expedient to stop the *French* Plenipotentiarys, they are actually gone home, and despite our Proposals of Peace : and instead of a sign'd Treaty, they have publish'd to the World a Manifesto, full of Insolence and false Assertions. Thus you see, Sir, I told you Truth in the former part of this Letter, That our new Measures had hinder'd the Peace. And by the Medal we have had an account of in the *Daily Courant*, you see the Pretender is already encourag'd by our Sermons and Addresses to claim that *Hereditary Right* which they have set up for him. But all these Matters are so well laid open in several late *Reviews* ; and it is there so plainly prov'd, That the Sense of the Nation is to be known by the Rise and Fall of Credit, and not by absurd Addresses ; and that in the whole new Scheme there is but one right Thought, which is that of a Sponge to pay off the Debts of the Nation : that I will give you no further trouble upon any of these Heads. Only I will take this occasion to recommend that Paper and the *Courant*, to the constant Perusal of all your Neigh-

bours that wish well to our present Constitution ; not forgetting your old Friend and Countryman the *Observer*, who deserves very well the Continuance of your Favour, and from whom I will borrow one Quotation, and so conclude. *The French Observer, Court, says he, know very July 22. 1710. well the Tories are not able to support the Credit of the Nation, tho they were willing ; and at the same time are well satisfy'd that those who act the Part behind the Curtain never design'd it. The French King knows their Want of Ability from dear-bought Experience : for when that Faction had all the Power, and King Charles and the Duke of York at their head, he was forc'd to supply them with Pensions, as occasion requir'd : he was also at the charge of maintaining Women about that King, to be his Earwigs, to keep him tight to his Interest, and to prevent the Influence of honest Counsels. By them he could make him dissolve his Parliaments, turn out honest Ministers, take in Papists and Arbitrary Tories, and ring what Changes he pleas'd.*

This, Sir, was the Condition of our Kingdom in those days ; I pray God we may never live to see the like.

July 23.

Yours ever, &c.

F I N I S.

